2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

arise!' Such exhortations are numberless. With the Orokaiva, I believe, they are mainly spontaneous; set magical formulae, if they exist, are uncommon. It is simply a matter of putting what you wish into words, though you may have no good reason to expect a fulfilment of the wish. To see how common is this elementary form of magic among ourselves we need only observe the barrackers at a football match or the punters on a race-course.

I know of very few *set* or conventional spells among the Orokaiva, although they may exist in greater number than I am aware of. However, I have often enough heard a man saying aloud what he wants, and it may fairly be maintained that all spells are originally rather straightforward statements of some desire. By putting your wish into words you bring it nearer, give yourself a false confidence by adopting a confident tone, and give your hope a premature realization by stating it as a fact. The unintelligible spell (which I believe to be rare among the Orokaiva) may develop or rather degenerate from the intelligible spell, i.e. from the statement of a wish or hope. Primitives are so prone to accept the form of any practice and neglect its meaning that they might readily take over the actual words of the spell while they failed to grasp the content. The words, repeated without regard to their meaning, become meaningless, the spell is misapplied, and so we get gibberish and abracadabra.

The best example of such a process which the Orokaiva can supply is that of the songs of the Taro cult. It seems probable that these were in the first instance addressed to the taro plant itself, or the spirit (*atiti*) of the plant, and were in the nature of apostrophes or exhortations. This character is still recognizable in them, and one may hear the singers repeating again and again the names of various taro varieties. But they are commonly incapable of interpreting the other words of the songs. These have become little more than nonsense syllables, though the function

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OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

of the Taro songs remains unchanged; they are still meant to make the taro grow.[1]

[The transition from spell to prayer has hardly shown itself among the Orokaiva. It occurs when some higher personal power is called upon to aid in effecting the desire of which the spell is primarily no more than a statement. Still, one might say that the spell and the prayer have the same justification in psychology. By putting our hope into words they strengthen it, though the prayer does so far more effectively by virtue of its appeal to a higher power in which we repose a very comfortable faith. It would be necessary to devote more attention to this subject if we had to discuss how a belief in superior personal powers may influence Orokaiva conduct. For the present, however, it may be dismissed with the remark that Orokaiva magic makes a relatively small appeal to any such powers.]

Another stage is reached when we begin to play-act the desired result. Either by voice, by gesture, or by some symbolic action or contrivance, we are now giving a presentation of the effect we have in mind. We have seen the sorcerer imitating the funeral conch and the wailing of the women, or groaning and exclaiming, writhing and shivering, as he hopes his victim may. We have seen the owner of the pig-trap grunting when he visits it. We might hear the gardener as he plants the slip of sugar-cane make sucking noises and cough as if he were already choking with the sweet juice of the matured plant.

Such procedures do seem to be commended by a certain reasonableness. While remaining unconvinced one does not need to be a leech or a necromancer to see the point. There are, however, certain set forms of procedure in which the point is less obvious. I may refer to three which have frequently come to my notice: they are all methods of black magic.

First there is the use of heat. This is perhaps the commonest method employed by the sorcerer for the in-

[1] Vide Taro Cult, p. 39.